

Social Progress



The United Nations—

After Ten Years

OCTOBER 1955



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FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT . . .

Accent on Peace

WE HAIL the United Nations as it celebrates its tenth anniversary on October 24, 1955. Last year the Presbyterian General Assembly called upon local congregations "to observe the anniversary in appropriate ways, and to co-operate in community celebrations."

It is important for presbyteries throughout the Church, in their fall meetings, to take note of the UN anniversary and to encourage churches to join in the observance.

Appropriately the Board of Christian Education is launching this fall an emphasis on "The Things Which Make for Peace" which will continue through 1956 and most of 1957. This does not mean that the Board will drop any of its other activities or diminish any of its normal "emphases." It means that "the things which make for peace" will be underlined or, perhaps, spotlighted whenever and wherever they appear in the Board's program for the churches—curriculum, age group materials, leadership education, church officer training, student work, publications, social education.

Also appropriately, we note with deep appreciation the donation of a large rug to the United Nations by the Women's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Representatives of the United Nations and leaders of the National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations participated in a dedication of the rug at the UN headquarters in New York on September 13, 1955. At the dedication ceremonies there were short talks by Mrs. J. R. Salsbury,

of Kansas City, President of the National Council of Presbyterian Women, by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and by Dr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations. Following the dedication, a seminar on the United Nations was led by Dr. Andrew Cordier, Executive Assistant to Dr. Hammarskjöld, and Mr. Ahmed Bokhari, Under-Secretary for Public Information of the UN. The Presbyterian rug was hand loomed in Quito, Ecuador, by Andean Indians of the high plateau area. The rug, in three parts, is 87 feet long by 26 feet wide. It is an outstanding masterpiece of the rugmaker's art.

The San Francisco Conference

WE CAN add little to the voluminous reports of the UN meeting in San Francisco last June celebrating the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Churches were quick to see the importance of the San Francisco Conference. A significant event was a "Festival of Faith" on Sunday, June 19, preceding the opening of the UN commemorative meeting. This was a service of prayer for peace and divine guidance to the United Nations. It was attended by 15,000 persons.

Resolutions in support of the UN were read by Dr. Walter Van Kirk of the National Council of Churches, by Dr. Charles Malik, Ambassador of Lebanon and a member of the Eastern Orthodox Church, by Dr. Mahmoud Yousef Shawarvi, Director of the Islamic Center in New York, by the Hon. S. K. Banerji, member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations and a Hindu, by Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, a Buddhist, and by Rabbi Saul E. White of the Synagogue Council (Jewish) of America.

Secretary of State Dulles in his address recalled the work done by the Church in preparing American public opinion for the UN Charter Conference in 1945. We recall that Mr. Dulles, at that time, was Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches. Sir Leslie Munro, Ambassador of New Zealand to the United States, spoke on "The United Nations and World Faith." A great many of the official delegates to the UN meeting were in the vast audience.

Many faiths were represented in this great meeting, yet each faith was heard in a clear and decisive manner. Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, Director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, who presided,

put it this way: "Our participation is not with any limitation but with a fuller expression of the freedom which we enjoy; it is not in betrayal of but in deep fidelity to whatever faith each of us may profess. Without obscuring our differences of conviction, we share a common concern in the United Nations, and we know that its objectives cannot be attained if spiritual realities and resources are ignored."

The UN Commemorative Meeting itself convened at three o'clock in the afternoon on June 20 in San Francisco's War Memorial Opera House, with the President of the United States, high-ranking officers of the United Nations, a considerable number of foreign ministers, and other top-level dignitaries of 60 nations, bowing their heads in a full minute of silent meditation. In his report of the meeting, Dr. Walter Van Kirk said: "Ten years before, in this very Opera House, at the opening session of the UN Charter Conference, I had bowed my head in prayer that God would grant his children peace, freedom, and justice. And here I was again, participating in an act of meditation by which recognition was given a sovereign God whose power transcends the might of secular states. It is a significant thing that the political leaders of 60 nations, with or without the consent of their own minds and hearts, should feel impelled publicly to acknowledge the primacy of a power not their own."

UN Charter Revision

THE tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly this fall will consider the calling of a conference for the purpose of reviewing, and possibly revising, the UN Charter. The Charter itself provides that the question of review and revision be considered ten years after the founding of the United Nations.

We have said in the past that we do not favor the calling of a review conference at the present time. We have said that we believe that the present world situation is not conducive to a fruitful review conference. The reasons for this position were elaborated in an article which appeared in *SOCIAL PROGRESS* in October, 1954.

It now appears that the international climate is beginning to change, and tensions lessen, so as to make possible the holding of a useful international conference for the review of the UN Charter. It is entirely possible that the General Assembly of the UN this fall will support a resolution to hold a review conference. It is to be hoped that if a review conference is called by the UN General Assembly, it will not be held before 1957.

We should keep three things in mind: (1) Review and revision are not the same thing. The proposed conference is for the purpose of considering whether or not, and how, the UN Charter should be revised. To hold a review conference does not mean that the Charter will be revised. (2) Most of the changes that are being talked about by responsible students of the United Nations are of a rather "minor" nature. Radical changes in the Charter, such as would turn the Organization into a form of world government, are fantastically impossible by the very nature of the present international situation. (3) We should remember always that the UN Charter is a dynamic instrument. The United Nations, on the basis of present Charter provisions, has been able to make important adjustments to changing situations. Note, for example, the far-reaching implications of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of October, 1950, by which the General Assembly was given power to function in case the Security Council was deadlocked over an issue of peace by the veto. Effective alterations in the functioning of the Charter are often possible by the methods of reinterpretation and supplementary agreements.

"In All and Through All"

AT PURDUE last year Presbyterian women affirmed in plenary assembly an urgent fourth objective for the quadrennium. They declared "Christ is the way. . . . He is peace . . . through him we will support all efforts which make for world peace, including the program and agencies of the United Nations."

To carry forward this objective in 1956, Presbyterian Women's Organizations are giving special attention to the General Assembly pronouncements in monthly meetings. The stand of the General Assembly on international matters, and in support of the United Nations, is especially appropriate for several programs in the 1956 Program Guide, *In All and Through All*. (See Program No. 11, "The Whole World.") In fall presbyterial meetings local program leaders and SEA secretaries will be introduced to the pronouncements and how they guide the social responsibilities of Christians.

The Purdue peace objective will be the theme of nation-wide study in PWO circles and small groups during 1957.

—Clifford Earle
Margaret Kuhn
H. B. Sissel

Fifty-four Facts About the UN

An outline of general information about the United Nations and its related organs. Prepared by the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action, with an assist from the Department of Public Information of the United Nations.

1. The United Nations is an arrangement by which member nations meet, talk, plan, and work together in the interest of world order and human welfare.

2. The United Nations is composed of sixty member countries.

3. It is important to understand that the United Nations is not a supranational organization. It has no reality apart from the sovereign countries which make it up.

4. The UN was set up by the United Nations Charter, which was written at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. The tenth anniversary of this conference was commemorated in a special meeting of the UN General Assembly at San Francisco in June, 1955.

5. The UN came into being on October 24, 1945, when China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States, together with a majority of the other countries that signed the Charter at San Francisco, had sent formal notes to the U.S. State Department in

Washington, confirming their signature. The United States Government had been designated as the official "repository" of the Charter by the San Francisco Conference. October 24 is now recognized and celebrated as United Nations Day.

6. Each member nation contributes to the annual budget of the UN. The amount is decided by the General Assembly and depends on each country's ability to pay.

7. When states (nations) join the United Nations, they promise, among other things, to solve their disputes by peaceful means.

8. All peace-loving states that agree to carry out the obligations of the Charter of the UN may become members of the United Nations.

9. The General Assembly admits new member countries, after they have been recommended by the Security Council. Nine new members have been admitted to the UN since it came into being.

10. There are six main bodies that form part of the United Nations—the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social

Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. All these units, except the International Court of Justice, are located principally at the UN Headquarters in New York. The International Court of Justice is located at The Hague, in the Netherlands.

General Assembly

11. The General Assembly is composed of the representatives of all the member nations. Each nation is entitled to five delegates and five alternates.

12. The General Assembly meets once a year, usually for ten weeks or more in the fall. It can also hold a special session if a majority of its members, or the Security Council, wants one.

13. The Assembly decides important matters by a two-thirds majority vote, other questions by a simple majority. Every vote in the Assembly is equal to every other vote, and there is no "veto." Each nation is entitled to one vote.

14. The General Assembly may discuss and make recommendations on all matters that come under the Charter, except that it cannot make recommendations on any question concerning peace and security being considered by the Security Council, unless the Security Council asks it to do so.

15. If the Security Council fails

because of the veto (which is operative only in this unit of the UN) to act on a threat to the peace, the General Assembly can make recommendations to member countries for collective action to maintain or restore peace.

Security Council

16. The Security Council consists of eleven member countries. Five of these are permanent and are named in the Charter—China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Six of them are chosen by the General Assembly for two years, after which they may not serve again immediately.

17. The Security Council cannot make any decision, except on questions of procedure, if one of these five permanent members is against it. This is called the "veto" or the unanimity rule.

18. The Security Council's job is to keep the peace. It acts on behalf of all the members of the UN.

19. When the Council is recommending measures for settling peacefully a dispute, a Council member if it is a party to this dispute may not vote.

20. The Security Council is organized so as to be able to work continuously.

Economic and Social Council

21. The Economic and Social Council has eighteen members which

are chosen by the General Assembly for three years, with six of the members retiring each year. The retiring member nation may be chosen again and often is.

22. There is no "veto" in the Economic and Social Council. All decisions are taken by a simple majority vote.

23. The Economic and Social Council helps the General Assembly in its work to improve living conditions and to extend observance of basic human rights.

24. Working with the United Nations are ten separate intergovernmental organizations called specialized agencies. These are the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Bank), the International Monetary Fund (Fund), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

25. A Technical Assistance Board co-ordinates the activities of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) and several specialized agencies under the co-

operative enterprise called the "Expanded Program of Technical Assistance." The program helps to provide technical skills and knowledge to underdeveloped countries for their efforts at economic and social development. It is financed from voluntary contributions from some seventy-five Governments which are paid into a special fund. The participants in the program, apart from TAA, are ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ICAO, WHO, ITU, WMO, and, on a co-operative basis, the Bank and the Fund.

26. The Council has commissions that deal with particular parts of its work. Three of them are regional economic commissions which are concerned with special problems in particular areas—Europe, Asia and the Far East, Latin America. The others deal with particular subjects, such as human rights, the status of women, and communications. They give expert advice to the Council.

Trusteeship Council

27. Another body is the Trusteeship Council, which assists the General Assembly in looking after trust territories.

28. The Trusteeship Council is made up of member countries that are administering trust territories, permanent members of the Security Council not administering such territories, and enough other members elected by General Assembly so that the number of administering and nonadministering members is equal.

29. Trust territories are territories which have been placed under the International Trusteeship System. They do not govern themselves. The countries that govern them have placed them under the Trusteeship System by individual agreements approved by the General Assembly or, in the case of "strategic areas," by the Security Council.

30. The idea of the Trusteeship System is to look after the welfare of the peoples of the territories and to help them to develop so that they may govern themselves.

31. At present there are eleven trust territories—Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium), Cameroons (France), Togoland (France), Cameroons (United Kingdom), Togoland (United Kingdom), Tanganyika (United Kingdom), Nauru (Australia), New Guinea (Australia), Western Samoa (New Zealand), the Pacific Islands (United States), and Somaliland (Italy).

32. The Charter allows members to call a particular trust territory which they think important for reasons of defense a "strategic area." It is then supervised by the Security Council and not by the General Assembly. The member governing it may close off parts of the territory for strategic reasons.

33. One of the trust territories is defined now as a "strategic area." It is the trust territory of the Pacific Islands, which consists of the Mar-

shalls, Marianas, and Carolines.

34. The countries which administer trust territories must send annual reports to the United Nations. The United Nations also sends out visiting missions to see for itself the conditions in the territories.

35. People may send petitions to the Trusteeship Council concerning conditions in the trust territories.

36. Members that administer territories that do not govern themselves and that have not been placed under the Trusteeship System send information every year to the Secretary-General concerning the economic, social, and education conditions in these territories. This information is summarized and analyzed by the Secretariat, and these summaries and analyses are considered by a special committee set up by the General Assembly. These territories are not looked after by the Trusteeship Council.

37. Somaliland, formerly an Italian colony and now a trust territory under Italian administration, will achieve independence in 1960.

The International Court

38. The International Court of Justice is composed of fifteen judges, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state, and meets at The Hague in Holland. The judges are elected by the Security Council and the General Assembly, voting separately but at the same time.

39. The job of the Court is to consider all cases referred to it. Only states may be parties in such cases. It also gives advisory opinions when asked to do so by the General Assembly, the Security Council, or other authorized bodies of the United Nations or specialized agencies.

Secretariat

40. The Secretariat takes care of all the administrative matters of the United Nations. It does the office work of the Organization.

41. The Secretariat works all year round, serving all parts of the UN, and carrying out the programs and policies laid down by them.

42. The members of the Secretariat are from many different nations. They do not represent their countries, but form an "independent" international civil service under the Secretary-General. The Secretariat has a personnel of over 3,500 members.

43. At the head of the Secretariat is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Under the Charter he has some political as well as administrative responsibilities. Trygve Lie, of Norway, was the first Secretary-General of the United Nations. The present Secretary-General is Dag Hammarskjöld, of Sweden.

A Few of the UN's Activities

44. The United Nations sends investigation bodies to make on-the-

spot studies of situations in troubled areas, so that it may have first-hand information when recommending the steps to be taken.

45. The United Nations itself takes measures to end disputes—for example, by appointing a group or a person to help the opposing sides to agree (as in the cases of Palestine, Indonesia, and Kashmir).

46. If international peace is threatened or broken, or some country has committed an act of aggression, the United Nations may take collective measures to maintain or restore peace, as it did in the case of Korea.

47. The United Nations tries to secure agreement for regulating and reducing armaments and armed forces. A Disarmament Commission under the Security Council is working out plans for this as well as for eliminating weapons of mass destruction and for the disclosure and verification of information on existing armaments and armed forces.

48. During 1954, the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, together with the seven specialized agencies which also participate in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance to underdeveloped countries, had some 1,600 experts in the field. Since the beginning of this program in July, 1950, over 5,000 experts, drawn from about 70 different nationalities, have gone out to serve in more than 75 countries. During the same period,

over 5,000 fellowships and scholarships for study abroad have been awarded to the nationals of more than 100 countries. Training facilities for these fellows and scholars have been provided by 98 host countries.

49. The United Nations works to further the observance of basic human rights. It has proclaimed a Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard for all peoples and all nations. A convention for the prevention and punishment, as a crime under international law, of "genocide" (the killing of groups of people belonging to a particular race, nationality, or religion) was drawn up by the United Nations and came into force in January, 1951.

50. The United Nations gives aid and protection to refugees through the Office of its High Commissioner. To help Palestine refugees in the Near East it has established a special fund and a special agency—the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

51. The United Nations works to improve the status of women. Its Commission on the Status of Women makes recommendations for granting women political and legal equality, equal educational opportunities, and equal pay for equal work. A convention to grant women equal political rights with men was drawn up and came into force on July 7, 1954, after six countries had accepted it.

By the middle of August fifteen countries had accepted it.

52. The United Nations runs a world-wide system of control over dangerous drugs, such as opium and cocaine.

53. Through UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund), the United Nations provides food supplements and supplies for mass health campaigns and maternal and child welfare projects in underdeveloped areas of the world. Beneficiaries of the major programs assisted by UNICEF in more than 90 countries during eight years' operations include over 90 million vaccinated; over 24 million examined for yaws, bejel, and syphilis and over 6 million treated; 23.5 million protected against malaria and other insect-borne diseases; 15.5 million recipients of UNICEF milk and other diet supplements. UNICEF has provided basic equipment for some 5,500 mother-child welfare centers and is helping to establish plants for local production of antibiotics and vaccines and of milk and other foods. Recipient governments match, and in many cases exceed, UNICEF allocations.

54. A Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held under UN auspices in August, 1955. The Conference was very successful in reducing international tensions and in turning attention from the destructive to the constructive uses of atomic power.

UN Box Score: 1945-1955

We present here an inventory of several of the important problems before the United Nations since 1945. We are indebted to Robert H. Reid, Chairman of the Education Advisory Committee of the U.S. Committee for UN Day, for several of the items in the box score.

1. Problem: *Atoms for Peace.* President Eisenhower proposed the establishment under UN auspices of an international agency for the development of peaceful uses of atomic energy, in an address before the UN General Assembly on December 8, 1953.

Action: The General Assembly of the United Nations in 1954 endorsed the plan for setting up a co-operative agency of interested nations.

Score: An international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy was held in Geneva in August, 1955. Study of the agency plan is still in progress.

2. Problem: *Disarmament.* The control of weapons of mass destruction, along with conventional disarmament, is a necessity. The UN has been unsuccessful in efforts to develop an acceptable formula by which the nations can reduce the heavy burden of armaments.

Action: The General Assembly established the Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. Disagreements between the Soviet bloc and the ma-

jority led to an impasse in the discussions. The Commission for Conventional Armaments was set up by the Security Council in 1947. Both were replaced by the Disarmament Commission in 1952. In 1954, however, Russia broke the long deadlock in disarmament discussions, agreeing to broader conversations, including international supervision of atomic weapons.

Score: Disarmament subcommittee has been working in London and at the UN Headquarters in New York. President Eisenhower's plan for mutual inspections may be the basis for negotiation and eventual agreement. The discussions have been accelerated by the action of the United States in the appointment of a Presidential adviser and assistant to work on problems of disarmament.

3. Problem: *Formosa Strait.* The problem here is how to win a cease-fire between Red China on the mainland and Nationalist China on Formosa.

Action: The matter has been de-

bated in the United Nations Security Council. Red China refused to take part in the discussion.

Score: The problem is unsettled, although the tension apparently has greatly reduced.

4. Problem: French Colonies. The problem is how to settle French disputes with Tunisia and Morocco.

Action: The matter has been discussed in the United Nations, but action has been postponed by the General Assembly in the hope that the disputes will be settled by direct negotiation.

Score: The parties have been negotiating and settlements seem to be near in both Tunisia and Morocco, in spite of violent uprisings in Morocco.

5. Problem: Syria and Lebanon. These two countries complained to the Security Council about the slowness of British and French troops in withdrawing from their countries in 1946.

Action: Great Britain and France, in spite of Russia's veto, accepted the resolution in the Security Council favoring withdrawal of troops.

Score: British and French troops were withdrawn.

6. Problem: Iran. Iran protested to the Security Council about the delay of Russian troops in getting out of northern Iran, also Russian interference in her internal affairs (1946).

Action: The Security Council took up the case. Despite the walkout of

the Russian delegates, an appropriate resolution was adopted.

Score: Soviet troops left peacefully. The Iranian Government is now in full control of her internal affairs.

7. Problem: Greece. In 1946 Greece complained to the Security Council about aid being given to Greek rebel soldiers by Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

Action: A special committee sent to the Balkans by the United Nations helped to prevent more serious trouble.

Score: Conditions greatly improved. The special committee was dissolved in 1951. A new Balkan sub-commission of the Peace Observation Commission can send observers to the area at the request of the states concerned.

8. Problem: Indonesia. Fighting between the Netherlands and the new Republic of Indonesia was brought to the attention of the Security Council by Australia and India back in 1947.

Action: The dispute was settled after a series of cease-fires, and through the work of a special Security Council Good Offices Committee.

Score: The Netherlands' rule over Indonesia was terminated. The Republic of Indonesia, with seventy million people, became independent in 1949 and was admitted to the United Nations as the sixtieth member in 1950.

9. Problem: *Palestine*. The problem of the future of Palestine was brought before the General Assembly of the UN by Great Britain in 1947. The Arab-Jewish conflict followed the termination of the British mandate in 1948.

Action: Palestine partition was recommended by the General Assembly, with the Arab states, the new Jewish state, and an international regime for Jerusalem all linked in economic union (1947). United Nations mediation helped to end the Arab-Israeli war.

Score: State of Israel created in 1948 became the fifty-ninth UN member in 1949. Armistice agreements ended the armed conflict in 1949. Relations are still strained and border incidents of a violent nature have occurred spasmodically, especially in the tense Gaza area. Many questions remain unsettled. The United States and Great Britain are now offering their services in order to end the trouble and to advance the welfare of the Middle East nations.

10. Problem: *Kashmir*. In 1948 India claimed that Pakistan was assisting tribal invaders of Kashmir and sought Security Council action to avoid all-out war.

Action: A cease-fire was arranged by the Security Council commission. Both countries agreed that Kashmir should decide by plebiscite whether to become a part of Pakistan or India.

Score: Truce lines have been established and maintained. Some agreement on demilitarization of the area has been reached, but no agreement on conditions of the plebiscite.

11. Problem: *Korea*. The problem of Korean independence was brought before the General Assembly by the United States in 1947. North Korean armies crossed the 38th parallel in June of 1950. Later the Chinese Communist forces joined them.

Action: A UN commission reported that Russian opposition was preventing unification in 1949. The Security Council termed the invasion of South Korea a breach of peace, and requested UN members to assist the Republic of Korea in a decisive Security Council resolution in June, 1950. Sixteen nations sent troops, more than forty gave economic, medical, or other aid.

Score: This was the first time troops were used by an international organization for collective military action against aggression. The armistice agreement was signed July 27, 1953, after two years of negotiation. Prisoners were exchanged. Extensive relief and rehabilitation programs were inaugurated. The UN is still seeking the peaceful unification of Korea.

12. Problem: *Italian Colonies*. There was the problem of the colonies renounced by Italy in the Italian Peace Treaty of 1947. Britain, France, Russia, and the United States were un-

able to reach agreements, and in 1949 asked the General Assembly to decide the issue.

Action: General Assembly approval led to the creation of one new nation and one self-governing state. Another territory is to become independent in 1960.

Score: Libya became fully independent in 1952; Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia as a self-governing state in 1952. Somaliland was placed under trusteeship until 1960, with Italy as the administering authority.

13. Problem: "Uniting for Peace." UN actions in handling threats to peace could be blocked by the use of the veto in the Security Council when permanent members fail to agree.

Action: The General Assembly adopted the historic "Uniting for Peace" resolution, offered by the United States in October, 1950. The resolution provided in part that the General Assembly can act by a two-thirds vote when a veto deadlocks the Security Council.

Score: The General Assembly was greatly strengthened. The veto in the Security Council cannot now block UN action against aggression.

14. Problem: Technical Assistance. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are endeavoring to raise the living standards in underdeveloped areas through expanded programs of technical assistance.

Action: The Technical Assistance

Administration was set up in 1950. The agency operates regular and expanded UN technical assistance programs, co-ordinating them with the programs of the specialized agencies and the member states (such as the U.S. Point Four Program).

Score: Seventy-six Governments pledged over \$24,000,000 to the Expanded Technical Assistance Program for 1954. Over \$85,000,000 has been pledged since 1950. One hundred countries and territories have been aided, 5,000 technical experts recruited, 5,000 fellowships granted.

15. Problem: Human Rights and Genocide. Failures to respect human rights endanger peace. Genocide (destruction of any religious, national, racial, or ethnic group) is a prime example.

Action: The Commission on Human Rights drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a statement of principles, in 1948. Recently the Commission has completed the drafts of two Covenants on Human Rights. The United Nations also drafted a Convention on Genocide. A Convention on Freedom of Information is in preparation.

Score: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948. The Convention on Genocide was adopted by the General Assembly and ratified by forty-three nations, not including the United States. The Convention on the Politi-

cal Rights of Women was adopted and has been ratified by fifteen states.

16. Problem: Refugees. The United Nations faced the tragic by-products of war.

Action: The International Refugee Organization (IRO) was created in 1948 to repatriate or resettle World War II refugees. The High Commissioner for Refugees was appointed in 1951 to help those that remained. A separate agency was created to aid Palestine refugees.

Score: IRO repatriated or resettled millions of refugees (1948-1952). The High Commissioner mediates between refugees and Governments, endeavors to work out long-term solutions. The agency for Palestine refugees has cared for almost a million Arab refugees, and has started resettlement projects in several Arab states. The Arab refugee problem remains one of the most tragic issues of the world.

17. Problem: Tariffs and Trade. High tariffs block trade. There is great need for the reduction of trade barriers to create stability and well-being among the nations. This need is recognized by the United Nations.

Action: Attempts have been made since 1947 to set up an International Trade Organization (ITO). A General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been formulated.

Score: ITO remains a "dead issue." Concessions negotiated by

thirty-four nations through GATT have led to tariff reductions on some 55,000 items entering international trade.

18. Problem: International Law. The need for a judicial body to deal with matters of international law was recognized by the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

Action: The UN Charter established the International Court of Justice as the judicial organ of the UN in 1945. The General Assembly set up the International Law Commission to codify and promote development of international law in 1947.

Score: The International Court of Justice has delivered judgments in nine cases. The UN has requested advisory opinions several times. There has been little success in the effort to codify international law.

19. Problem: Trust and Nonself-governing Territories. The UN faced the question of what to do about territories formerly under League of Nations mandate or detached from World War II enemy states. Also some responsibility for other non-self-governing territories, affecting 200,000,000 people, was recognized.

Action: The Trusteeship Council was created. This Council supervises the administration of eleven territories. Under the UN Charter, administering powers pledged themselves to promote the well-being of colonial peoples and to report to the

(Continued on page 29)

World Order Sunday

—October 23, 1955

At the same moment of history, man was given both new secrets of the atom and new means for achieving a just and lasting peace. We celebrate the tenth birthday of the United Nations in Year Ten of the Atomic Age.

The question of our times is whether mankind under God can find the will and the wisdom to use the means for peace to make of the Atomic Era an age of peace. We who have taken upon ourselves the name of Christ are determined to press toward this goal with undiminished zeal.

We see in war a disease of international society. Conditions of poverty together with the disregard of human rights and freedoms create conflict. Terror and subversion, used as instruments of national policy, breed tension. The quest for power and the striving for a position of dominance among the nations, threaten peace. Competitive armaments together with primary reliance upon military establishments engender fear. These are among the causes of war. The abolition of war will be hastened as we pursue practical means for curing its causes.

We of the churches reaffirm what we said ten years ago, even before the Charter was signed:

“A new will to collaborate must be born in the hearts and minds of men if the Organization is to fulfill its purpose. Lacking such a will to make the machinery work, a better organization than that proposed in the Charter would fail. There is no substitute for the will to peace and justice.”

Major developments in the world since the signing of the Charter in 1945 all underscore the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace. It is sometimes said that because many of the hopes of San Francisco have not been fully realized, the United Nations has ceased to have meaning or reality. We hold the opposite view to be true, that the United Nations is now more clearly seen as sheer necessity to avoid international anarchy and war.

Weapons of war now carry in them the threat of destruction on a global scale. We must face this peril with all our resources of mind and spirit. The hydrogen weapon makes it necessary for us to use our spiritual, our

A statement for use in the churches from the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the tenth anniversary of the United Nations.

● *The Churches and the Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations*

political, and our military strength in such a manner as to bring nearer the day of man's deliverance from the scourge of war.

Who dares to say that because science has complicated and made more acute the problems of peace, we should now abandon the very machinery for seeking peace? We cannot escape simply by letting frustration drive us into a dark cave.

Instead, we must persevere in our efforts through the United Nations to find effective means for achieving disarmament. . . . It is our fervent prayer that, through the United Nations, our country will persist in its search for a trustworthy system of disarmament and thus make crystal clear our desire to build a world in which nations can practice tolerance and live with one another without fear and without threat of war.

We, therefore, conclude that the advances in nuclear science since the San Francisco Conference make it imperative that our own and other nations find the means of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and that to this end effective use be made of the United Nations.

Another important development since the signing of the Charter has been the upsurge of nationalist movements in the world. Thirteen new sovereignties have been born since the end of the war. The United Nations plays an important role in advancing man's natural aspirations for liberty without resort to armed conflict. Where hostilities have broken out, they have been first confined and then ended through the arbitrament of the world organization for peace.

Moreover, in vast areas—close to us because they are on the same planet—a new force has been born which matches the new-found power of the atom. This is the growing determination of the individual person to find a fuller expression and to give a greater meaning to his life on God's earth. The ancient tyrannies of hunger, disease, and poverty are no longer to be suffered in hopeless despair. The United Nations and its specialized agencies can serve as prime instruments in the orderly satisfaction of these demands. . . .

The economic and the social foundations of justice are indispensable to

the peace and stability of the free world. Along with the humanitarian aspect, which as Christians we hold to be supreme, it is also in our highest self-interest to support adequate United Nations technical assistance and other programs of mutual help. Only in this way will the voice of freedom be more convincing than the promises of Communism.

The hopes held at San Francisco that the great powers might co-operate to build the structure of peace have been thwarted by the emergence of the cold war. Communist policies and threats to the peace have misled some into urging that the United Nations should be modified or disbanded. They hold that there is not enough room in the United Nations for both the free and the Communist nations. To them we answer that an organization for world peace must be large enough for the whole world to fit into. We believe that world problems can be lessened as the organization for dealing with them is made more, not less, inclusive.

Within the framework of the United Nations, governments have been binding themselves together in regional and other defense arrangements for the preservation of the common good. However, these arrangements can forge moral unity, and thus build real strength for peace, only if they serve in fact as well as in name to support the security provisions of the UN.

Above all, we of the Churches proclaim that the United Nations is both a symbol and a method for strengthening the foundations of freedom, peace, and security in the world; that it can help fulfill the promise of those "unalienable Rights" with which the Creator has endowed his children. We believe that mankind, under God, is one; that he in whose image we are made summons us to persevere in the task of achieving for our own and other nations that peace and concord that are the fruits of world community.

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we thank thee for the infinite variety of the people who dwell on the earth; for those of differing tongues and varying races; and for the knowledge that we are all children of one Father and brothers in Christ, who is our Lord. As we draw nearer to one another in time and space, so may we be drawn nearer unto thee in faith and love. Let no impediment of mind or heart keep us separate from our fellows. Forbid that we should ever hold ourselves aloof from any for whom Christ lived and died. Purge from us any disposition to draw a circle that would shut out any man. Fill us then with a holy desire to see thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, that all men everywhere may rejoice in thy glory and love those things which belong to thy peace. This we pray in the name of Him who is our elder brother, Jesus Christ. Amen. *George T. Peters, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Burlingame, California; member, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

Fallacies and Facts About the UN

Many reckless, unfounded charges have been made against the United Nations. These charges have been kept alive largely by a small group of organizations with histories of extreme isolationism whose purpose is "to get the U.S. out of the UN and the UN out of the U.S." The 1955 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. declared, "Honest criticism is often useful, but many of the current attacks on the United Nations are unfair and misleading." We analyze here some of the false charges that are used in the current campaign against the United Nations.

Fallacy

The United Nations threatens to destroy the sovereignty of the United States.

Fact

Article II of the UN Charter states: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members. . . . Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter."

The UN is made up of independent sovereign states, each of which is just as intent to preserve its sovereignty as the United States. Our country's chief delegate to the United Nations is called ambassador by act of Congress for the simple reason that he represents a sovereign state and not a political subdivision. The UN is an

instrument which member nations, equal in sovereignty, can use to carry into action their joint purposes.

Fallacy

The UN Charter threatens the destruction of our Constitution.

Fact

Let us remember that the UN Charter is a treaty which was ratified by the U.S. Senate by a record vote of 89 to 2. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that "The [treaty] power does not extend as far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids." Any treaty, whether drafted in the UN or not, needs a two-thirds vote of the Senate for ratification, as well as the signature of the President. In most cases there would also have to be enabling legislation passed by both Houses of Congress before anything could be done in connection with a treaty or covenant agreed upon in the United Nations.

Fallacy

The UN is a godless organization. The Charter does not mention the name of God. UN meetings do not begin with prayer.

Fact

The Constitution of the United States does not mention the name of God. Does this mean that our Government or our nation is atheistic?

The UN General Assembly opens its meetings with a moment of silence, so that each delegate may offer silently his own prayer. A prayer room for delegates and employees is open to them at all times for meditation or prayer. A great many persons working in and for the UN are religiously inspired and motivated.

Moreover the UN Charter expresses the hopes and aspirations of religious and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. It is a document consistent with beliefs common to the major religious groups of this country.

Bishop Sherrill, former President of the National Council of Churches, has said: "Men and women of many faiths are involved in the work of the UN. The basis of Christianity is love, not compulsion. We cannot expect them to observe religious practices other than their own. The silent prayer which opens each meeting of the General Assembly is as far as it is possible to go at this time. In its effort to build a world peace which is the fruit of righteousness, the UN brings together people of varied

backgrounds, representing diverse nations. This task, which involves countless numbers of devout men and women of good will, is in conformity with the will of God. To describe the UN as godless is obviously unfair and untrue."

Fallacy

The UN is a hotbed of Communist spies.

Fact

Ambassador Lodge has said that it is not a nest of Communist spies, because there is nothing to spy on in the United Nations, which is why the Soviets haven't even filled their quota of employees. No United States citizen employed by the United Nations has ever been prosecuted for espionage. Every United States citizen employed there is screened in accordance with a Civil Service Commission—F.B.I. plan.

The exchange of missions between nations always leaves open the possibility of subversive activity on the part of the diplomats involved. This is true in the UN Headquarters just as it is in the capitals and embassies of the world.

Fallacy

The UN is controlled by Soviet Russia and the Communists.

Fact

No major Russian proposal in the UN has ever been able to overcome the opposition of the U.S. and the free world. Russia can rarely count on more than 5 supporting votes out

of the 60 in the General Assembly of the UN.

The Soviet Union has boycotted much of the constructive work of the UN. For example, Russia is a member of only 3 of the 10 specialized agencies of the UN.

Russia is unable to use the United Nations as a platform for its worldwide propaganda. Ambassador Lodge, chief American delegate, says: "We have adopted the practice of always answering a Communist speaker immediately so that no news story goes out of the United Nations to the world public consisting only of the Communist side. In that news story there is always something from the side of the free world." On the other hand, the U.S. frequently uses the UN as the place where important announcements and proposals are presented to the world (such as the offer of independence to Puerto Rico and the "Atoms for Peace" proposal).

Fallacy

UNESCO is a tool for Communism.

Fact

The quickest reply to this charge is to point out that UNESCO's educational policies and its belief in free inquiry are so directly opposed to Soviet views that Russia refused to join the agency until April, 1954. Earlier, she had forced her satellites, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, to resign from UNESCO on

the ground that it was a "tool of U.S. policy." The charge that UNESCO is interfering with the curriculum of American school children by its efforts to promote increased understanding among peoples is, of course, utterly fantastic.

For a further discussion of UNESCO, see the report on the agency prepared by the American Legion's Special Committee on the United Nations which appeared in the September, 1954, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, pages 24-26.

Fallacy

The United States pays all the bills.

Fact

The United States pays less than one third of the cost of operating the United Nations and its agencies.

The UN operating budget for 1956 will be \$46,278,000. Earnings, largely from its postage stamps and the guided tours, will approach \$7,000,000. This leaves a balance of about \$40,000,000 to be contributed by member states on a prorata basis, the U.S. share being about thirty per cent. In addition, the United States will contribute to the support of the specialized agencies, as well as to UNICEF, and to the vast relief and rehabilitation projects in Korea and the Middle East. It is expected that the U.S. contribution will come to about 50 cents for each person in the United States.

On the other side of the cost picture is one factor we should not over-

look. The United Nations spends in the United States each year, for salaries, services, and other needs, about \$30,000,000.

Fallacy

UN employees pay no taxes.

Fact

Senator Margaret Chase Smith has answered this charge as follows: "The United Nations' 4,000 employees are *not* tax-free international civil servants. The fact is that the United Nations has adopted a staff assessment plan under which it deducts from the salary of all its employees an amount approximating the United States income tax on equivalent salaries. The proceeds of these deductions help finance the general budget of the United Nations and thus reduce national contributions to that budget. In the current fiscal year [1954] these proceeds will amount to somewhat more than \$7,000,000.

"The staff assessment plan was designed to place all UN employees on an equal tax footing and to take the place of national taxation, which varies from country to country. The United Nations, like any employer, must assure its employees of equal take-home pay for equivalent services.

"In line with this assessment plan, most member nations of the United Nations have exempted their citizens who are United Nations employees from national income taxes. The

United States, however, has *not* exempted American personnel. The United Nations spares its American employees from paying both a staff assessment and an income tax by refunding to them the amount of their Federal and state taxes, which are paid by them in the usual manner."

Fallacy

We get nothing from the United Nations.

Fact

Dr. Ralph Bunche, who as Under-Secretary is the most highly stationed U.S. employee of the United Nations, has said: "In my view we get a great deal from the United Nations. We are a peace-loving people, and we earnestly desire peace, though never at the expense of freedom or honor. The United Nations affords us and all other peace-loving peoples the best, if not the only, hope there is to avert world atomic war—a war in which our burden and sacrifice would be greater by far than any we have ever been called upon to make.

"Surely we gained very much by the success of the United Nations' interventions to get Soviet troops out of Iran, to stop fighting in Indonesia, Palestine, and Kashmir; all of which situations had most dangerous implications for the peace of the larger world.

"As for Korea, since the aggression against the Republic of Korea had to be met, it was certainly tre-

mendously to our advantage that this should be done on a collective basis, under UN authority, rather than for us to be on our own and all alone there. In this first collective action against aggression in history, it is highly significant that 16 nations voluntarily provided troops and 5 others medical units, even though we provided most of the non-Republic of Korea fighting men. In the UN, the overwhelming majority of nations supported the Korean intervention.

"The plain fact is that there is, for us or for any nation, no practical or sensible alternative to the UN effort. Without this effort, the relation among nations would be subject only to the law of the jungle. This would mean an end to human progress, indeed to civilization itself, and all life would be reduced to a barbaric struggle for sheer survival."

Let us remember that if the UN should be disbanded tomorrow, the peace-loving nations would have to begin immediately to create something like it to take its place.

Fallacy

The UN can send American soldiers to fight anywhere any time.

Fact

The UN has no power to force any nation to send armed forces anywhere. Armed forces in Korea were sent by their own Governments, which volunteered to let them fight under the UN command which was headed by a United States general.

The United States has the right to veto any action of the UN Security Council dealing with armed force or any other important matter.

Fallacy

The UN has failed.

Fact

The UN is imperfect and has not always "succeeded" according to our wishes, but it certainly has not failed.

The 1955 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. declared: "We need to emphasize the many excellent accomplishments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in such areas as human rights; child welfare; education; health; relief and rehabilitation; refugee resettlement; technical assistance; economic development through international financing and trade."

When UN efforts lead to failure, as they sometimes do, let us have the sense to put the blame where it belongs. For example, the UN resolution calling for a cease-fire in the Formosa Strait was repudiated by Red China. Who was to blame for this "failure"—the UN or Red China? When a member country of the United Nations fails to live up to the Charter, which has "failed"—the guilty nation or the Charter?

Many of the critics of the UN who loudly denounce its "failures" will be the first and the loudest to resist giving the United Nations the power to "enforce" its decisions.

The Women's Gift to the UN

Excerpts from addresses given by two of the speakers at the ceremony for the laying of the Presbyterian rug at the UN Headquarters, on September 13, 1955. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake is Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, and Mrs. J. R. Salsbury, President of the National Council of Women's Organizations of the Presbyterian Church.

These beautiful rugs, woven in Ecuador, . . . are symbolic of the interest and stake in world order, justice, and peace of the Christian churches of the world. On behalf of my own Church which makes the gift, and of the other Churches as represented in the National Council of Churches, I am privileged to express to the United Nations our continuing support of your efforts on many fronts in assisting the nations of the world to work together to establish such world-wide prosperity, knowledge, friendship, political instruments, and justice that there may be a climate in which the delicate flower of peace can grow and flourish.

All of us know that world peace is much more than the absence of war. It is only as we dedicate ourselves to the establishment of the conditions of peace that it can be maintained and be of such quality that men of good will everywhere will want and support it. These rugs are given in the hope and with sincere prayers to Almighty God that the representatives of the nations who step upon them will be guided always to walk in the ways of understanding and friendship together.—*Dr. Blake.*

About two years ago the women of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America decided to make a gift to the United Nations that would affirm in a tangible way our support of the United Nations as an instrument by which sovereign nations can meet, plan, and act together toward this goal. So we gave our nickels and dimes. . . .

In presenting this gift to the United Nations through you, Mr. Hammar-skjöld, the women of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America express their deep conviction of their high hope embodied in this organization of nations.

In appreciation and faith we salute the United Nations on its tenth anniversary with our gift. Thousands of Presbyterian women . . . and the many others who have handled and helped with it now give to the United Nations a beautiful expression of their desire to bring together the best of things of the world which lead to peace. And we give this gift in joy and hope for this goal that we strive for together.—*Mrs. Salsbury.*

The Church and the UN

Selected Pronouncements from the Presbyterian General Assembly on the United Nations Since 1945

This General Assembly expresses its gratification that fifty nations now meeting at San Francisco are engaged in the formulation of a charter for a United Nations Organization.

—1945

This General Assembly gives thanks to God that when the nations faced all the vast uncertainties of an atomic age, they stood joined within the potentiality of the United Nations. We hope that the United Nations will move on to provisions within its Charter and practices that are more in keeping with the interdependence of nations, and a spirit of world community out of which world government may eventually come.

—1946

We believe that under the providence of God the United Nations may achieve such stature as to constitute a vitally needed instrument of salvation in the area of world order, justice, and peace. We therefore commend our Government for the pursuance of a foreign policy based upon the full and vigorous participation of the United States in the United Nations. We urge upon all our fellow Church members individual and group studies of both the strengths and the weaknesses of the United Nations, in order to create within the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America an informed and dynamic will to assist our Government to such faithful and skillful participation in the United Nations as will make it an increasingly effective instrument for international co-operation.

—1947

We are encouraged by the way in which the Assembly of the United Nations has served as the expression of the world's conscience. It has grown increasingly effective in giving expression to the moral judgments of mankind upon the problems of our age. It is our one human hope of peace. We, therefore, call upon our Government to strengthen and to utilize to the utmost the machinery of the United Nations, not seeking to control its actions by our superior power or prestige, and not bypassing its use, but rather developing its power by the responsibilities we impose upon it. We urge the use by the nations of those parts of the Charter that propose to bring about world disarmament.

—1948

The United Nations: We reaffirm our faith in the United Nations as "our one human hope of peace." It must not be sabotaged by "the veto, the bypass, or the back track."

—1949

We believe that the United Nations at the present time provides the main institutional hope for attaining a lasting peace; that, therefore, the United States should consistently use its machinery and work through it in order that it may be strengthened. To this end the United States should abstain from unilateral actions that tend to side-step the United Nations. Our country should even be willing to surrender some part of its national sovereignty in order that the sovereignty of the world community may come into being.

We believe that it is the duty of the Church to prepare its members for such a step and that, meanwhile, all Christians should uphold the United Nations and urge their Government to work through it.

—1950

The Church challenges its people and the nation to the opportunity of developing a world of law and order and human service through the United Nations. The Protestant Church has a special concern here, for it was through its program of education and leadership that a great body of people in the United States supported the idea of a United Nations and made their influence felt at San Francisco. Today the Church should press for the commitment of an increasing number of our interests and concerns to the United Nations. Our judgments in international affairs have been improved again and again by the deliberations of the United Nations bodies.

Let the Church lend its backing to suggestions already made to seek on a collective basis the reduction of armaments and to subject all weapons of war, including atomic weapons, to international jurisdiction under the proper safeguards.

Let the Church press the proposal of the United Nations for developing so-called underprivileged countries.

Let the Church keep urging a cessation of the mad armaments race.

Let the Church support before Congress the great humanitarian movements in the field of human rights which have been supported by our leaders in the United Nations.

Let us by every possible means seek to clothe the United Nations with the authority and the prestige that will give it the practical effect of world government.

—1951

Recalling the significant contribution of Protestant Church leadership to the formation of the United Nations, we reaffirm our support of and responsibility for world order through the United Nations.

It is the continuing conviction of our Church that

(1) The United Nations should be in fact, as well as in word, a cornerstone of American foreign policy, and not an instrument of convenience to be used or ignored as expediency requires.

(2) The United Nations should be the main reliance of this nation for the realization of U.S. security objectives. Arrangements made unilaterally or regionally should square with the larger scheme of collective security founded in the Charter of the UN.

(3) The proposals for disarmament adopted by the Sixth General Assembly of the UN at Paris in 1951 at the initiation of our Government, Great Britain, and France are a good beginning toward asserting our real objectives to all the world. We urge the U.S. Government to continue in this course, so that our true goal of building a structure for permanent peace may be realized.

(4) The Technical Assistance program of the UN and the Point Four program of our Government should be strengthened and expanded now, so that economic and social justice within and between nations may become a reality. With two thirds of our fellow men living in underdeveloped regions of the world, such programs are of greater significance to the hope of a free world than the development of military strength.

(5) The strength of the United Nations depends upon the informed support of Christian people of the world and especially of this country; it is important for church people to become leaders in their communities in the development of UN associations and similar groups working for peace on a Christian basis.

—1952

Each year since the founding of the United Nations in 1945 our Church has affirmed its warm support of this international organization as an invaluable instrument of world order. We rejoice in the many accomplishments of the United Nations and note that it has more than once stopped aggression, blazed new trails in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promoted the well-being of subject and dependent peoples, engaged in many humanitarian endeavors, and promoted better standards of life around the globe. We are tempted often to stress the halting progress of the UN. It is more realistic to marvel that the UN has progressed and achieved at all in this kind of world.

1. We commend the President of the United States, the Congress, the Department of State, and other agencies of our Government in their support of the United Nations. We call upon the administration to continue making the United Nations a major cornerstone of American foreign policy. We urge that the United Nations be used as a major channel and reliance for the realization of our security objectives.

2. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America wishes to encourage the United Nations groups working in the fields of universal disarmament and the control of atomic energy.

3. We wish to warn our ministers and churches against the attacks being made upon the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations is not above criticism, but we regret the violent and misleading assaults upon the international organization. . . .

4. We call upon our Government to make available its fair share of support of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. We commend this program for its great work in providing for the needs of children made homeless in the last war and in developing child care services in many parts of the world. . . .

5. We encourage the continuation and extension of the program of technical assistance by our Government to underdeveloped regions. We urge the close co-ordination of this program with similar efforts carried on by the United Nations.

We urge also that these programs should be divorced completely from military and security objectives. We believe we should continue and maintain adequate support of other agencies such as WHO, FAO, and UNESCO.

6. Since we are approaching 1955, the time when there may be an international conference for the purpose of revising the UN Charter, we call upon the churches to consider the peril that lies in the direction of weakening or abandoning organized international co-operation, and the promise for peace that lies in the direction of a stronger and more responsible United Nations.

—1953

The 166th General Assembly reiterates its support of the United Nations and its agencies. While recognizing the values inherent in free and honest public debate on cur-

rent issues, we deplore the misguided and ill-advised attacks on the United Nations that either deliberately or unintentionally misrepresent both its practice and purposes. . . .

For churches and church members, this means the following:

1. A study of basic information about the United Nations and its organs. Most of the present-day opposition to the UN is clearly due to a lack of real understanding about it. Where information is not otherwise available, churches should provide it for their members and for study groups.

2. Christians should encourage and express their willingness to pay taxes for our Government's full participation in the work of the United Nations and its agencies.

3. Churches should constantly warn their members against propaganda groups posing as educational organizations which are excessive and destructive in their criticism of the United Nations and its agencies. Organizations seeking accurately to interpret the United Nations deserve the support of Christian citizens.

4. It is important for Christians to be patient and open-minded in estimating the results and effects of discussions under United Nations auspices which often seem to accentuate lines of cleavage between countries rather than to harmonize their views.

We call attention to the possibility of a review conference on the United Nations Charter. If the General Assembly of the UN votes in 1955 for a review conference, church groups and individual Christians are urged to give careful consideration to any proposed changes in the Charter. Recognizing that the present international political climate is not congenial to a fruitful review conference, we prayerfully hope that the atmosphere will clear in such a way as to make possible a constructive and positive Charter review if such be called.

—1954

The attainment of peace requires structures through which the nations can co-operate in diminishing the causes of disorder in the world. The chief structure is the United Nations. We reaffirm and renew our support of the United Nations, not as a supranational organization, but as an instrument by which sovereign nations can meet together, plan together, and act together "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

We warn our churches and church members against malicious attacks on the United Nations on the part of persons and groups whose avowed purpose is "to get the United States out of the United Nations and the United Nations out of the United States." Honest criticism is often useful, but many of the current attacks on the United Nations are unfair and misleading. We need to emphasize the many excellent accomplishments of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. . . .

We note that the tenth session of the United Nations General Assembly this fall will consider the calling of a conference for the purpose of reviewing, and possibly revising, the United Nations Charter. The Charter of the United Nations, as a dynamic political instrument, should be subject always to review and amendment. We believe, however, that the present world situation is not conducive to a fruitful review conference. The remedy for world difficulties does not lie in Charter revision. We call attention to the demonstrated fact that the United Nations, on the basis of present Charter provisions, has been able to make important adjustments to changing situations. Effective alterations in the functioning of the Charter are often possible by the methods of reinterpretation and supplementary agreements.

—1955

UN BOX SCORE: 1945-1955

(Continued from page 15)

United Nations on conditions.

Score: Trust territories in the Pacific are administered by the United States (1), Australia (2), and New Zealand (1); and in Africa, by the United Kingdom (3), France (2), Belgium (1), and Italy (1, until 1960). The United Nations receives reports on more than sixty nonself-governing territories.

20. Problem: UN Membership. There has been a deadlock on new members since 1950, although the Charter states, "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and which, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Twenty-one countries have applied without success.

Action: The United Nations began with 51 countries. Nine have been added in the ten years of its life—Afghanistan, Burma, Iceland, Indonesia, Israel, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand, Yemen. The United Nations established, in 1953, a Special Committee on Admission of New Members to explore possibilities of reaching an understanding that would facilitate admissions.

Score: While some member states advocate membership for all nations ("universality"), the following con-

tinue to seek membership—Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Laos, Libya, People's Republic of Mongolia, Nepal, Portugal, Rumania, Vietnam, and Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

21. Problem: The Seeds of War. The UN recognized the importance of combating ignorance, hunger, disease, and poverty.

Action: The Economic and Social Council and ten specialized agencies were set up to deal with international, economic, social, and cultural problems—UNESCO, FAO, WHO, ILO, Bank, Fund, ICAO, UPU, ITU, WMO. The UN Children's Fund was established to promote the health and welfare of children and mothers.

Score: The UN scoreboard here is impressive. Examples: UNESCO Fundamental Education Centers in Mexico for Latin America, in Egypt for Arab nations, combat illiteracy. FAO is carrying out programs for seed improvement, land reclamation, fisheries development. WHO experts in many countries are fighting malaria, which afflicts 300,000,000 persons. UNICEF projects are under way in ninety-odd countries to aid some 32,000,000 children and mothers.

About Books

Civilization and Foreign Policy, An Inquiry for Americans, by Louis J. Halle. Harper & Brothers, 1955. 277 pp. \$3.75.

This is one of the best of the current books on American foreign policy.

Mr. Halle, the author, was for several years a member of the Policy Planning Staff attached to the Office of the Secretary of State. He was connected with the Department of State from 1941 until the summer of 1954. He is now on the faculty of the University of Virginia in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The book is an inquiry into the general principles that should underlie the development of our American foreign policy. It begins with fundamentals. Mr. Halle explores the character of Western civilization, examines the nature and possibilities of national power, and analyzes the requirements of our foreign policy in terms of the kind of nation we are and the kind of world we live in.

Although the book is addressed particularly to the present tension between the Russian and the American ways of life, it draws upon the entire sweep of Western history for clues and principles. Mr. Halle, along

with many other modern students of world affairs, is especially appreciative of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, by Thucydides, which he says is "perhaps the best single book on international relations."

The book has a useful and interesting introduction by Dean Acheson, which is in effect an essay on the conduct of foreign affairs.

Civilization and Foreign Policy is close to being "must reading" for all interested in world affairs.

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Common Sense and World Affairs, by Dorothy Fosdick. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. 207 pp., index. \$3.50.

This is one of the most interesting and useful books on foreign affairs we have ever read. Miss Fosdick writes with a refreshing style and with a sense of illustration reminiscent of her famous clergyman father.

She also writes with sound authority. Miss Fosdick, after receiving her Ph.D. from Columbia University, went to the State Department in 1942 to help to develop plans for the United Nations. She served with the American delegations to Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, to the San Francisco

Conference in 1945, and to the General Assembly of the United Nations from the first meeting in 1946 through the third assembly in 1948. She became a member of the Policy Planning group in the Department of State in 1948. At present she is a contributor to *The New York Times*, and is an editorial consultant with the Public Affairs Department of the National Broadcasting Company.

The twelve chapter titles give a pretty good idea of the content of the book, as well as a hint of its style—

(1) To know when to be scared is the beginning of wisdom, (2) Whoever says he has the solution to our problems speaks too soon, (3) To make a fine choice, yet decline to pay for it, is folly, (4) Fashioning your methods in the light of your end is prudence, (5) Sometimes to let things alone is sound sense, (6) Stealing a march on trouble is foresight, (7) To believe you are more generous than you really are is hazardous, (8) Asking only for immediate and tangible rewards is short-sighted, (9) Some things can only be good if the occasion is ripe, (10) Safety lies in acting on the truth of the matter rather than the imagination of it, (11) To talk as well as you perform makes sense, (12) To do the good that is straight under your nose is vigilance.

The book discusses Soviet intentions, the likelihood of nuclear war, the rise of Communist China, the Korean War, the Indo-China settle-

ment, the defeat of the European defense community. It deals with armaments policy, economic aid programs, issues of coexistence and negotiation with Russia, the hopes and possibilities of the United Nations.

One cannot read this important book without feeling that many of the questions concerning world-shaking events of the past ten years, and about which there has been endless debate, are at long last answered.

We heartily commend this book as a "must" for all who are interested in world affairs.



The Public Philosophy, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown and Company, 1955. 189 pp., index. \$3.50.

In this powerful book, Walter Lippmann, one of the keenest analysts of our day, discusses sensibly the causes for the tragic decline of liberal democracy and for the alarming rise of totalitarianism in our century.

The trouble, says Mr. Lippmann, is that popular pressures have come to exercise a too dominant and dangerous influence over the executive (ruling) functions of government. Public opinion, Mr. Lippmann insists, is seldom in the public interest. The result has been that the modern democracies have grown more and more incapable of functioning wisely in times of war and of tension.

Another difficulty, Mr. Lippmann

believes, lies in the failure of the Western democracies to define, defend, and maintain the political faith, or "public philosophy," which was the basis of the convictions of the founding fathers when they established the American Constitution. This "public philosophy" or, as others would call it, "natural law," underlies in general the liberal way of life. Without an adequate and generally accepted public philosophy the enjoyment of private property becomes an end in itself, land is destructively exploited and wealth ruthlessly accumulated, freedom of speech degenerates into freedom of abuse, and the whole process of democratic government is found mentally vitiated.

Mr. Lippmann believes, and persuasively argues, that unless the public philosophy is restored to its place of honor and influence, and unless the mounting tide of agnosticism and godlessness in Western society is stemmed, there will be an end of democracy as we have known it. This disaster can be avoided if we realize the gravity of the present situation and rise to the challenge of it.

This book should be on every minister's reading list.

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The Mind of Modern Russia, Historical and Political Thought of Russia's Great Age. Edited by Hans Kohn. Rutgers University Press, 1955. 298 pp., index. \$5.50.

Dr. Kohn is professor of history at the College of the City of New York. He was born in Prague, coming to this country in 1933. He lived in Russia as a prisoner of war and as a member of the Czechoslovak Legion, from 1915 to 1920. His interest in Russian civilization and thought was induced by lectures in student days by Masaryk.

The century prior to 1917 saw the development of Russian culture under Western influence. Even as Russian life flowered, intellectuals argued pro and con about Russia's relationship to the West. Both the Slavic and the Western points of view were defended by the important thinkers of the era, and in their great debate lies the background for an understanding of present-day Russia.

In this volume are presented selections of important writings of Russia's golden age. Here we read the view of Chaadayev on Russia's place in history; Pogodin on the world mission of Russia and the Slavs; Belinsky on progressive Russia; Chernyshevsky on radical Russia; Lenin on Russia and the Revolution. In all, sixteen writers are presented, with meaningful introductions and commentaries by Professor Kohn.

This is a book for serious students of modern world affairs. It suggests insights into Russian philosophy and purpose which we very much need in the present struggle between the East and the West.

—C.E.

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Charter Signed
June 24, 1945*

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- Encourage church groups to plan a course of study on the UN.
- Submit articles on the UN to your local newspaper.
- Ask your local broadcasting station to run spot announcements or special programs on the UN during UN Week.
- Plan a sermon on the UN for October 23.
- Encourage groups in the church to participate in the international exchange and assistance programs: CARE book program, correspondence programs, Magazines for Friendship, UNESCO Gift Coupon Plan, UNICEF projects.
- Suggest that New York visits include a day at the UN Headquarters for a tour of the building and a visit to the committee meetings.
- Invite foreign students to your church and arrange an international dinner serving an international menu.